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THE MILITARY BUILDUP IN CUBA

A Report Prepared by an Ad Hoc
Committee of the United States
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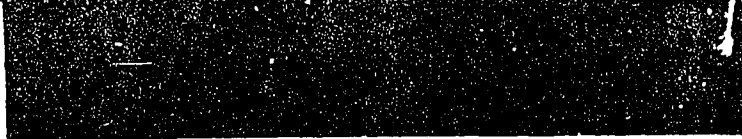

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MILITARY BUILDUP IN CUBA

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THE PROBLEM

To assess the extent of Sino-Soviet Bloc military collaboration with the Castro regime, and to examine in detail the Cuban military buildup since Castro came to power.

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I
CONCLUSIONS

1. The Soviet Bloc continues to extend considerable military assistance to Cuba in the form of military equipment, training, and technicians and advisers.

some Soviet jet light bombers.

Cuba may receive

Military training of Cubans in the Bloc is continuing and some probably have already returned for duty in Cuba. Soviet Bloc military technicians and probably instructor pilots are in Cuba. No Chinese Communist military personnel have been identified as being in Cuba.

2. There is no evidence that any Sino-Soviet Bloc country has dispatched or is organizing a "volunteer" force for military service in Cuba.

3. The Sino-Soviet Bloc has gone a long way toward identifying itself with the maintenance of the Castro regime. The viability of Cuba's economy has become dependent on continued Bloc

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assistance. The successful Soviet effort to provide Cuba with all its ~~needs~~ needs has been at considerable expense and disruption to its normal ~~operations~~ operations and the Soviet Union has given priority to other Cuban needs even on occasion at the expense of other trading partners.

4. The Sino-Soviet Bloc's support for the Castro regime is part of its larger efforts to isolate the United States and to weaken and eventually destroy its influence throughout the world. The Soviets desire to establish Cuba as a secure base of operations for furthering their aims throughout Latin America. The Castro regime has already become an effective instrument of the Bloc toward achieving these ends in Latin America and, to a lesser extent, among underdeveloped and emerging nations throughout the world. In short, for most practical purposes, the present Cuban Government can be regarded as Communist, and its military dependence on the Bloc is steadily increasing. Cuba, under the present Communist control, provides a better base of operations for subversion and propaganda throughout Latin America than the Soviets have ever had. The strongly anti-United States and pro-Soviet regime of Castro's serves their purposes well; it gives a native color to Communist agitation and limits the risk of a hemisphere-wide reaction against outside Communist intervention.

5. The Soviet Bloc military equipment already shipped to Cuba, as well as prior military purchases by Castro from Western sources, have contributed substantially to a major buildup of

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ground and air forces there. As a result, the Cuban ground forces are probably now better equipped than those of any other Latin American country. The Cuban military buildup is reflected in the great expansion of personnel in the Cuban military and militia forces. The present Cuban ground forces consist of the Revolutionary Army of [REDACTED] the Revolutionary National Police of [REDACTED] and the militia estimated at [REDACTED]. The combat effectiveness of the combat elements of the army and the militia has greatly improved since [REDACTED] 1960 and together they must now be considered as constituting one of the most effective ground forces in Latin America. Present capabilities of the Cuban Navy are limited to [REDACTED].

[REDACTED] The combat capability of the Cuban Air Force is still low, but it can provide limited support to the ground forces and assist in maintaining internal security. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] the capability of the air force will be greatly enhanced over the coming months. If augmented by aircraft of the civil airline, the Cuban Air Force has a fair troop and cargo transport capability.

6. Initially, the purpose of Cuba's military buildup was self defense. Anti-Castro guerrillas were active in several areas inside Cuba and exile groups had posed a constant invasion threat. However, the current sharpening and strengthening of all the instruments of police state control suggest that the related

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motive of tightening the dictatorship is an equal, if not presently the prime, purpose of the military buildup. The regime, which is imposing a thorough socio-economic revolution on the country at a faster pace than almost any other government in history, evidently estimates that its domestic objectives can be achieved only through the regimentation of the Cuban people under a police state. This clearly parallels the objectives of the Cuban Communist Party and thus furthers the aims of the international Communist movement.

7. The militia is a primary instrument of the state in strengthening and extending its control. Drawn from rural and urban lower income groups, a hard core of the militia is well-equipped and is organized with increasing efficiency while a larger portion is undergoing regular part time military training. Some militia units have been assigned to duties normally carried out by the armed forces. The militia provides the government with a substantial armed force with which to control the populace as a whole and subjects a relatively large number of Cubans to military discipline and political indoctrination. At the same time, it contributes toward solving the serious unemployment problem. Communist influence in the militia is extensive. The militia has proven an effective fighting force in the anti-guerrilla campaigns

[REDACTED]

The effectiveness of the militia reflected an improved state of training, acceptable leadership, and generally good morale as well as the regime's ability to

mass large numbers of men in critical areas.

8. The Castro regime is convinced that the Cuban revolution is the vanguard of "the anti-imperialist rebellion" that will inevitably sweep all of Latin America. It is actively encouraging and covertly assisting Communist and Communist-influenced revolutionary groups in other Latin American countries at every opportunity. Its methods include intensive propaganda supported by the Castro-subsidized international news agency that has close working ties with Sino-Soviet Bloc news agencies and reflects the propaganda line of Moscow and Peiping. Cuban diplomatic missions have frequently provided Communist-oriented student and labor groups with propaganda material and financial assistance. The arms buildup in Cuba permits the Cubans to supply weapons to pro-Castro groups in other countries. Receipt of Bloc military equipment permits Cuba to furnish Western-manufactured arms now in their possession for this purpose.

9. Cuban subversion is further supported by the Castro-subsidized travel to Cuba of numerous Latin Americans

[REDACTED]

During the Havana meeting in May and June 1961 of the executive committee of the Communist-front International Union of Students, it was announced that Cuba plans to offer 1,000 scholarships to Latin American students for study in Cuba.

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II

DISCUSSION

1. Following the seizure of power by the Castro regime in January 1959, intermittent Cuban military contacts were made with Sino-Soviet Bloc countries-- [REDACTED] --but these apparently did not result in firm military aid commitments until [REDACTED] 1960. As Cuba's efforts to purchase military goods in the Free World became increasingly difficult throughout 1959 and early 1960, Cuban arms purchasing missions traveled to the Bloc to investigate new sources of supply. [REDACTED]

2. These preliminary contacts may have crystallized during First Deputy Premier Mikoyan's visit to Cuba in February 1960, when Moscow abandoned its policy of aloofness toward the Cuban revolution and publicly announced its support of the Castro regime. Mikoyan's visit signaled the beginning of a series of trade and/or aid agreements between Cuba and all countries of the Sino-Soviet Bloc. As political and economic contacts were established, it became apparent that the Bloc intended to back up its propaganda support for Cuba with a major campaign of material assistance.

3. Soviet activities in exploiting the rapid deterioration of US-Cuban relations, however, were inhibited during the spring of 1960 by the impending summit conference and President Eisenhower's scheduled visit to the USSR. With the collapse of the summit in May and the cancellation of the President's trip, these inhibitions were removed and the Bloc launched a more intensive drive to expand its influence

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over the Castro regime. In the post-summit period this campaign has included public attacks on the validity of the Monroe Doctrine and assurances of Soviet support in the event of economic or military measures that the US might undertake against Cuba. These assurances-- including the ambiguous references to retaliation with missiles-- have been phrased broadly enough to cover the supply of military equipment and technical assistance without committing the USSR to specific military action in support of Cuba.

4. Soon after the summit collapse in May 1960, Cuban military negotiations were undertaken with the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. Czech-Cuban talks in Havana during May and June were immediately followed up by a trip to Prague and Moscow by Cuban Minister of Armed Forces Raul Castro. Presumably agreements were concluded during these negotiations to provide for future deliveries of Bloc arms.

5. During the summer of 1960, probably in early July, at least one [REDACTED] cargo of [REDACTED] small arms and ammunition was delivered to Cuba, along with [REDACTED] helicopters. Shortly thereafter, [REDACTED] Cuban military personnel were sent to [REDACTED] to receive military training, [REDACTED]

6. Further military talks [REDACTED] probably were held concerning detailed arrangements for the delivery of Soviet Bloc arms, accompanied by military technicians to provide the necessary training. Not until [REDACTED] 1960, however, did major shipments get under way. Since [REDACTED] there have been [REDACTED] shipments of military material to Cuba.

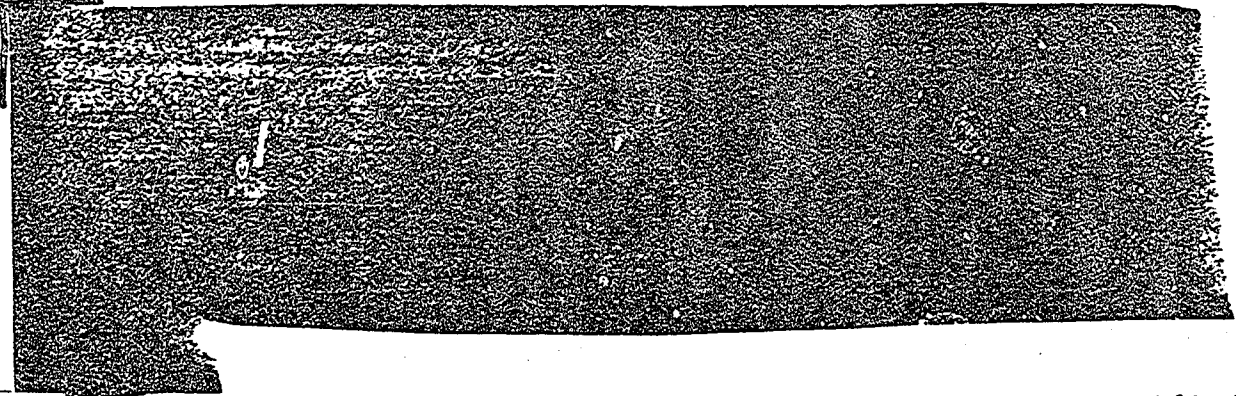
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7. Because of the [REDACTED] surrounding the off-loading of military cargoes in Cuba, information on the exact total quantities of Bloc material is [REDACTED]

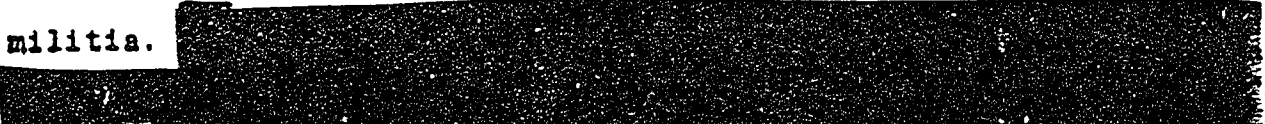
Considering the type of equipment and estimated Bloc deliveries, the Cuban ground forces are probably now better equipped than those of any other Latin American country. They will probably experience some initial difficulty in providing adequately trained maintenance personnel for this equipment. Over the long run some spare parts problems may arise. These estimated Bloc deliveries provide the Castro regime with suitable armaments for defensive purposes against external invasion by non-nuclear forces, as well as being very useful for Cuban internal security needs.

8. [REDACTED]

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9. Bloc military deliveries to Cuba thus far have significantly assisted the Castro regime in its attempts to develop a greater military capability. The Cuban ground forces now have for the first time an antiaircraft defense capability and a greatly improved artillery and armor capability. In addition, the considerable quantities of modern Bloc small arms and ammunition have enabled the regime to establish and maintain an expanding civilian militia.



10.



[REDACTED]

11. [REDACTED]

No

Chinese Communist military personnel are believed to be in Cuba, although the possibility cannot be entirely discounted.

12. [REDACTED]

13. There is no evidence that Soviet Bloc or other nationals are being trained in the Bloc for military duty in Cuba. There is no evidence that any Sino-Soviet Bloc country has dispatched or is organizing "volunteer" forces for military service in Cuba.

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14. The ground forces under Batista consisted of a 21,000-man Army and a National Police Force of 7,600 who were relatively well-trained and well-disciplined by Latin American standards. Following Castro's victory, virtually all elements of Batista's ground forces were gradually removed. About one-fifth of the present Revolutionary Army of some 32,000 men were active in guerrilla operations against Batista, and the remainder is composed of personnel who joined the Revolutionary movement when its success had been assured. A similar situation is believed to exist in the 9,000-man Revolutionary National Police organization, which in May 1961 was placed under the newly-created Ministry of the Interior. Much of the Army effort since 1 January 1959 has been devoted to non-military activities; personnel assigned to public works projects account for much of the troop strength increase over Batista's army.

15. The capabilities of the Cuban ground forces have been increasing steadily since the fall of 1960. Soviet Bloc arms deliveries have provided Cuban ground forces with an armor, artillery, antiaircraft and antitank potential hitherto largely lacking and unknown in other countries of the Caribbean area. Intensive training of Army and Militia units with new Bloc equipment, under the supervision of Bloc advisors, has been conducted since the Fall of 1960. A modest school system including armor, field and antiaircraft artillery, infantry, guerrilla, medical and signal training has been instituted. In May 1961, Castro instituted a course to train a new corps of revolutionary instructors who will be assigned to troop units to

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raise the morale and increase the "revolutionary awareness" of all military elements. Field and antiaircraft artillery and tank firing exercises are conducted on a regular basis; unit firing exercises have been conducted. It is estimated that the combat elements of the Army and Militia have completed basic and small unit training and are capable of handling and firing all weapons with which they are equipped. Level of training of infantry units appears to vary widely. Armor units have probably achieved the capability of platoon employment. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] While tactical communications continue to be inadequate for modern combat, the delivery of large amounts of Bloc military transport vehicles has greatly increased the mobility of the Cuban ground forces [REDACTED]

16. The civilian Revolutionary Militia represents the major increase in the size and capability of Castro's ground forces over those available to Batista. It is estimated to have more than 200,000 members. First appearing as early as [REDACTED] 1959, loosely-organized units of students, workers, and farmers were officially established in [REDACTED] 1960. Training varied widely from unit to unit and reflected the initiative and energy of individual commanders. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] While a sizeable proportion of the militia are volunteers,

there have been large numbers of young men and women pressured into service in the militia, and there are reports of a conscript program having been initiated.

17. [REDACTED] militia units gradually assumed many duties which formerly were exclusively performed by the Army and National Police. They effectively performed crowd control duties, [REDACTED] [REDACTED] and they have acted as security forces in port areas while Soviet Bloc arms shipments have been unloaded. In addition they have effected the takeover of intervened businesses and are used in guarding vital industries and utilities against possible sabotage efforts. The rapid reaction of the Cuban Militia in concert with the National Police in establishing control of Cuban cities during the recent invasion attempt was a clear demonstration of their effectiveness.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

The combat effectiveness of the Militia has been partially tested in counter-guerrilla operations [REDACTED]


[REDACTED] by Latin American standards the Cuban ground force combat elements are effective and further that they could be defeated only by a modern substantial combined-arms force.

19. [REDACTED]

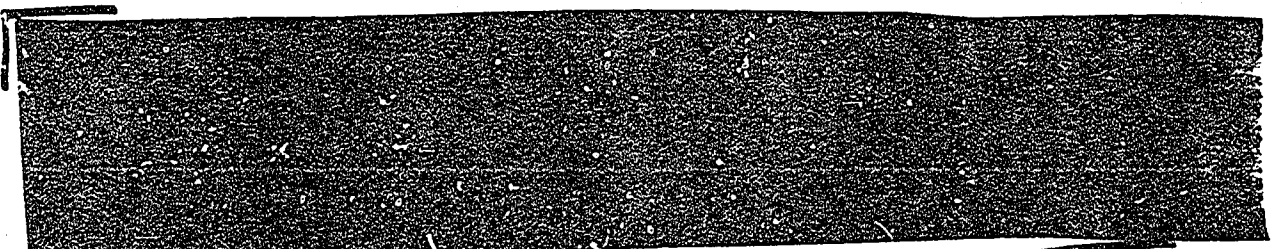
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21. The combat capability of the Cuban Revolutionary Air Force (CRAF) is still low, but it can provide limited support to the ground forces and assist in maintaining internal security.

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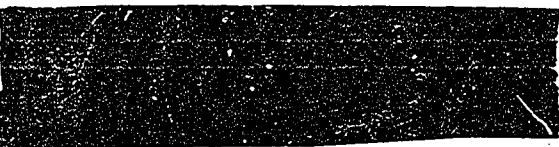
 If augmented by aircraft of the civil airline, the Cuban air force has a fair troop and cargo transport capability.



22. The total personnel strength of the Cuban Revolutionary


Possibly as many as half of these have been receiving pilot training, and probably some are now jet qualified. Some training is probably being conducted in Cuba, but the types of training, instructors, and numbers participating are unidentified.

23. The total inventory of CRAF aircraft has increased since

1959, 

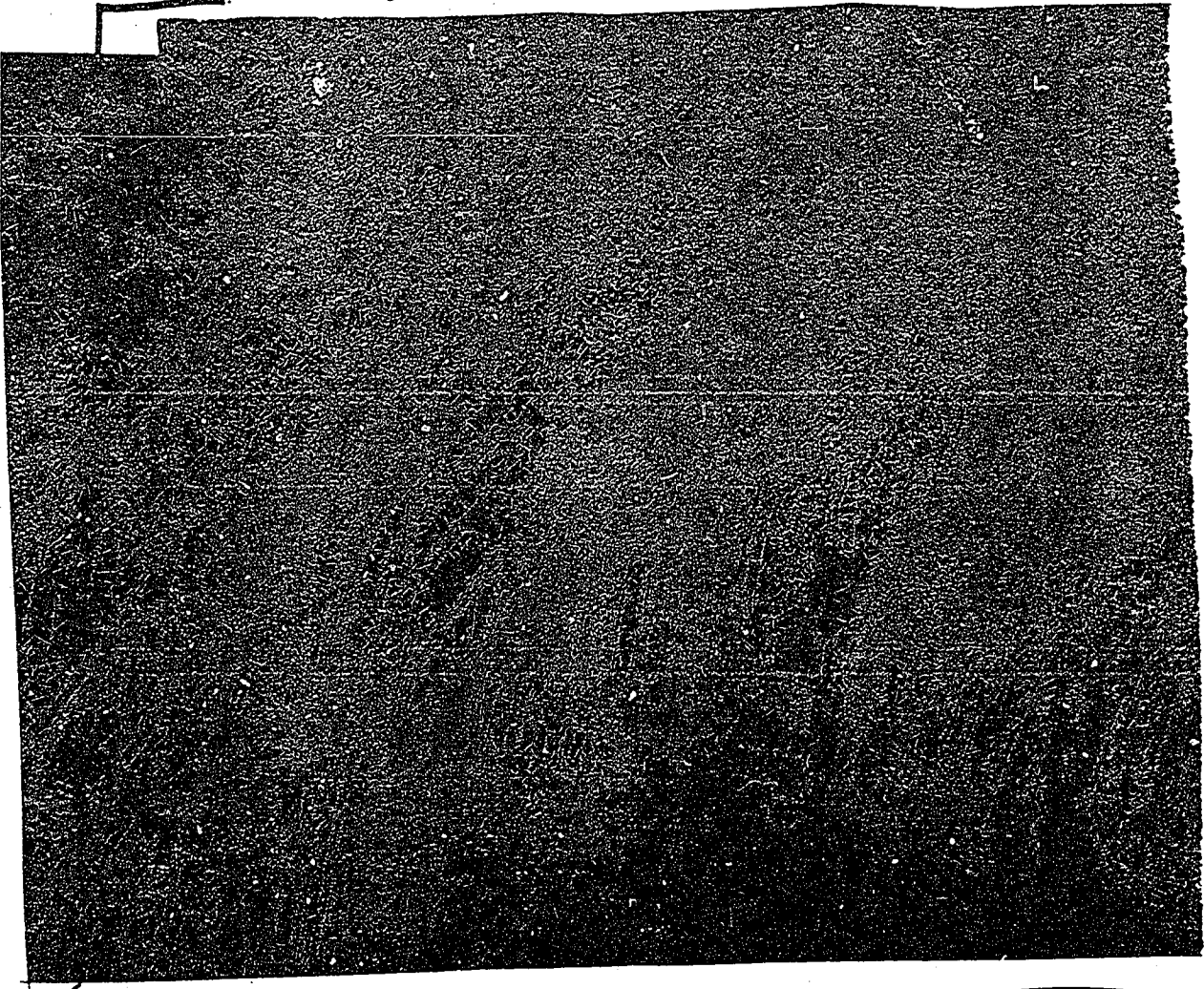
 The increase is reflected mainly in the MIGs, helicopters, piston trainer, and transport aircraft, with the latter probably representing expropriations of aircraft from private owners. There is no information concerning the serviceability rate of CRAF aircraft at the present time. 

24. In Cuba there are  airfields, excluding the USN airfield on the Guantanamo Naval Base, with hard-surface runways 6,000' or more. All of these fields have runways 

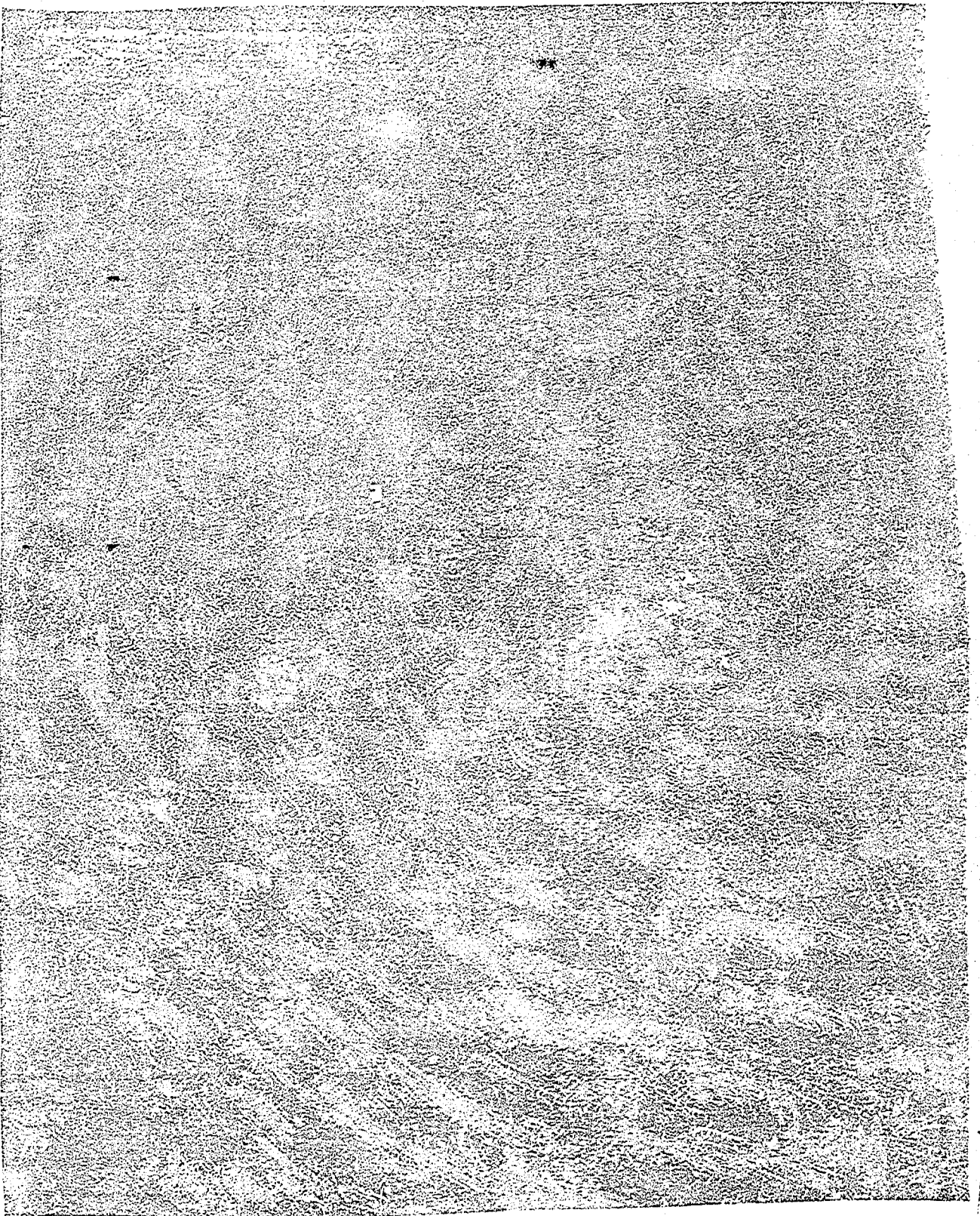
[REDACTED] Parking and fuel facilities are generally limited at most of the airfields. This air facility system is more than adequate for the CRAF and would support a major increase therein. [REDACTED]

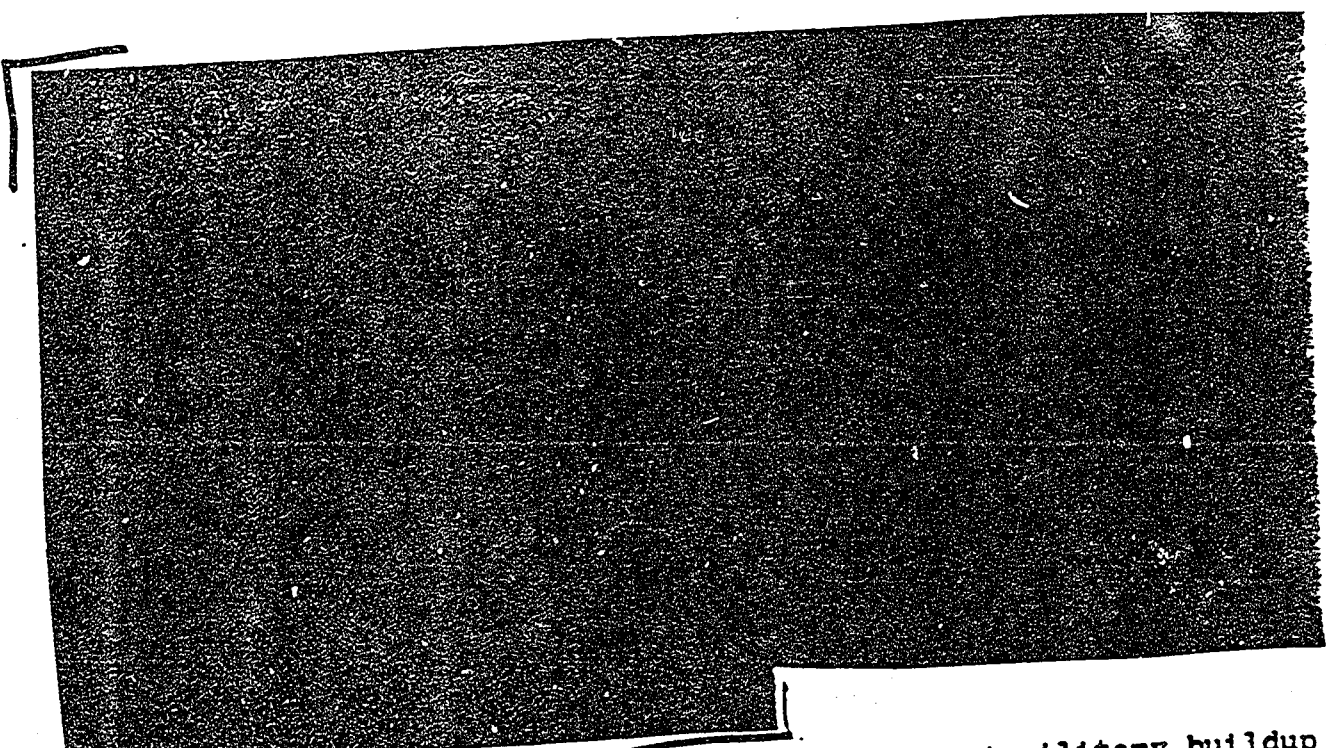
25. Since early 1960, the Castro regime has made a serious effort to augment Cuban air facilities capabilities. Several new airfields have been built and many of the already existing facilities have been significantly improved. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



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26. The principal objectives of the current military buildup are self-defense, internal security, and to a lesser extent the export of arms and trained men to other Latin American countries for revolutionary and subversive purposes. Given the Cuban emphasis on guerrilla warfare, a civilian militia, and subversion, the arms the Cubans have been receiving--especially the large quantities of small arms and automatic weapons--lend themselves to use in connection with all of these objectives. The weapons employed for defense against attack from abroad can be used with equal facility against internal subversion and anti-Castro rebel forces, to arm the militia, or to supply revolutionary groups located in or moving into other Latin American countries.

27. Cuba's efforts to strengthen its military posture have resulted, at least initially, from a genuine fear of foreign-based

invasion. Various Cuban statements indicate that Castro views another invasion of the island by anti-government Cubans, supported indirectly or covertly by the United States, as a probability.

28. In addition to reflecting a genuine fear of invasion, the heated and continuing Cuban charges of a US-supported invasion and their propaganda exploitation of the abortive 17 April landings have been part of a major propaganda effort to villify the United States. This effort is designed to enlist world sympathy for the cause of the Cuban David against the US Goliath, and to draw the attention of the Cuban people away from the economic difficulties which they now face and to prepare them for further sacrifices.

29. A well-equipped military force (with special emphasis on an elite, politically reliable hard core within the revolutionary militia) serves two principal functions in maintaining order within Cuba. First, it enables the regime to deal effectively with any anti-Castro rebels which might develop in Cuba. Second, it provides Castro with a means of extending government control over Cuban society--a policy which is presently considered at least of equal importance to the objective of self-defense.

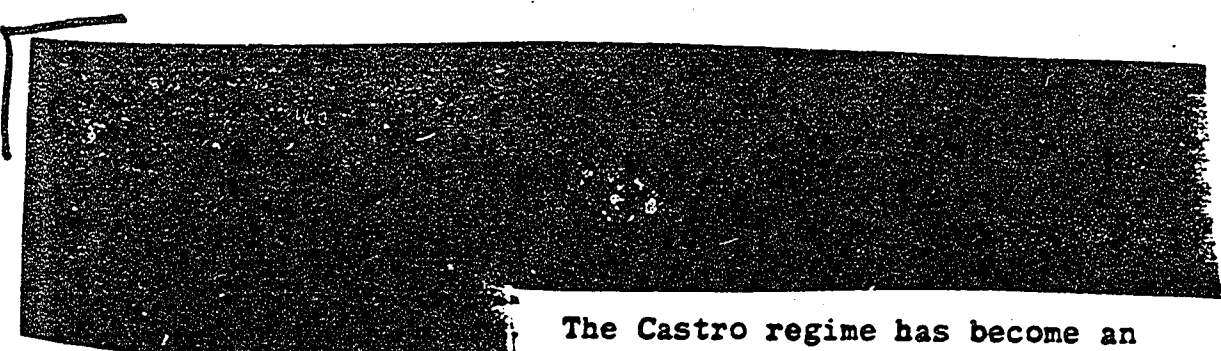
30. The current buildup in arms may now be directed primarily toward extending the Castro government's control over Cuban society and institutions. The major tool of control is the Revolutionary Militia, which serves several purposes. It provides the government with a substantial armed force through

which the Cuban populace as a whole can be controlled, and it promotes loyalty to Castro by subjecting a relatively large number of Cubans to military discipline and political indoctrination under the leadership of people dedicated to the revolutionary government. Finally, the militia offers the government an organized work force for use in economic development and military construction projects, and to reduce the high unemployment which is plaguing the Castro regime.

31. Since Fidel Castro's assumption of power, Cuba has been involved in several attempts to overthrow other Caribbean governments. During [REDACTED] the Castro regime sponsored or gave indirect support to invasion attempts against Panama, the Dominican Republic, Nicaragua and Haiti. The military buildup provides Cuba with an increased ability to furnish military aid to Communist and pro-Communist revolutionary groups in these or other Latin American countries in the future. Soviet Bloc military equipment now in Cuba permits the use of older, Western-made equipment which would be difficult to trace, for these purposes.

32. Cuba has with heavy assistance from Communist funds put to work on its behalf a propaganda and subversive campaign of unprecedented proportions in Latin America. Cuban leaders and propaganda media repeatedly refer to the Cuban revolution as the vanguard of the anti-imperialist revolution that will "inevitably sweep" the rest of Latin America. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]



The Castro regime has become an effective instrument of the Sino-Soviet Bloc in its drive to weaken and eventually destroy US influence in Latin America as well as in other underdeveloped and emerging nations.

33. The Castro government has made no secret of its antipathy toward most of the governments of the other Latin American republics, charging that these governments do not represent the will of the people. It is clear that Cuba is determined to export its revolution to the rest of the hemisphere.

34. The Cuban government is engaged in organizing, financing, and training of revolutionary movements. One facet of Cuban assistance in the training of potential revolutionaries against other Latin American governments is the Castro regime's subsidization of travel to Cuba of numerous Latin Americans for purposes of ideological and military indoctrination. Numerous delegates to the Latin American Youth Congress in Cuba last summer, for instance, remained to participate in the international Communist-financed "International Work Brigade." The week-long congress of the youth section of the Cuban Popular Socialist (Communist) Party last April also brought delegates from a number of Latin American countries, as did the ceremonies in March marking the "Week of Solidarity with the Struggles of the Latin American

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Peoples." The latter event, sponsored by the Communist-controlled labor arm of the Castro regime, ended with a manifesto calling for the initiation of an "anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution in all of Latin America." This manifesto did not include any call for an open Communist revolution. During the Havana meeting in May and June 1961 of the executive committee of the Communist front International Union of Students, it was announced that Cuba plans to offer 1,000 scholarships to Latin American students for study in Cuba. [REDACTED]

Latin Americans from various countries have received military training as well as political indoctrination in Cuba after participating in these events. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

35. A major effort to overthrow a Latin American government was the attempt in June 1959 to oust the unpopular Trujillo dictatorship in the Dominican Republic. In this case the Cubans underestimated the strength of the Dominican regime. The two forces which landed in the Dominican Republic from Cuba--one by air and the other by sea--were trained and armed in Cuba and led into battle by officers of Castro's army. The group that landed on the Dominican coast was escorted there by units of the Cuban Navy. The invading forces, primarily composed of Dominican

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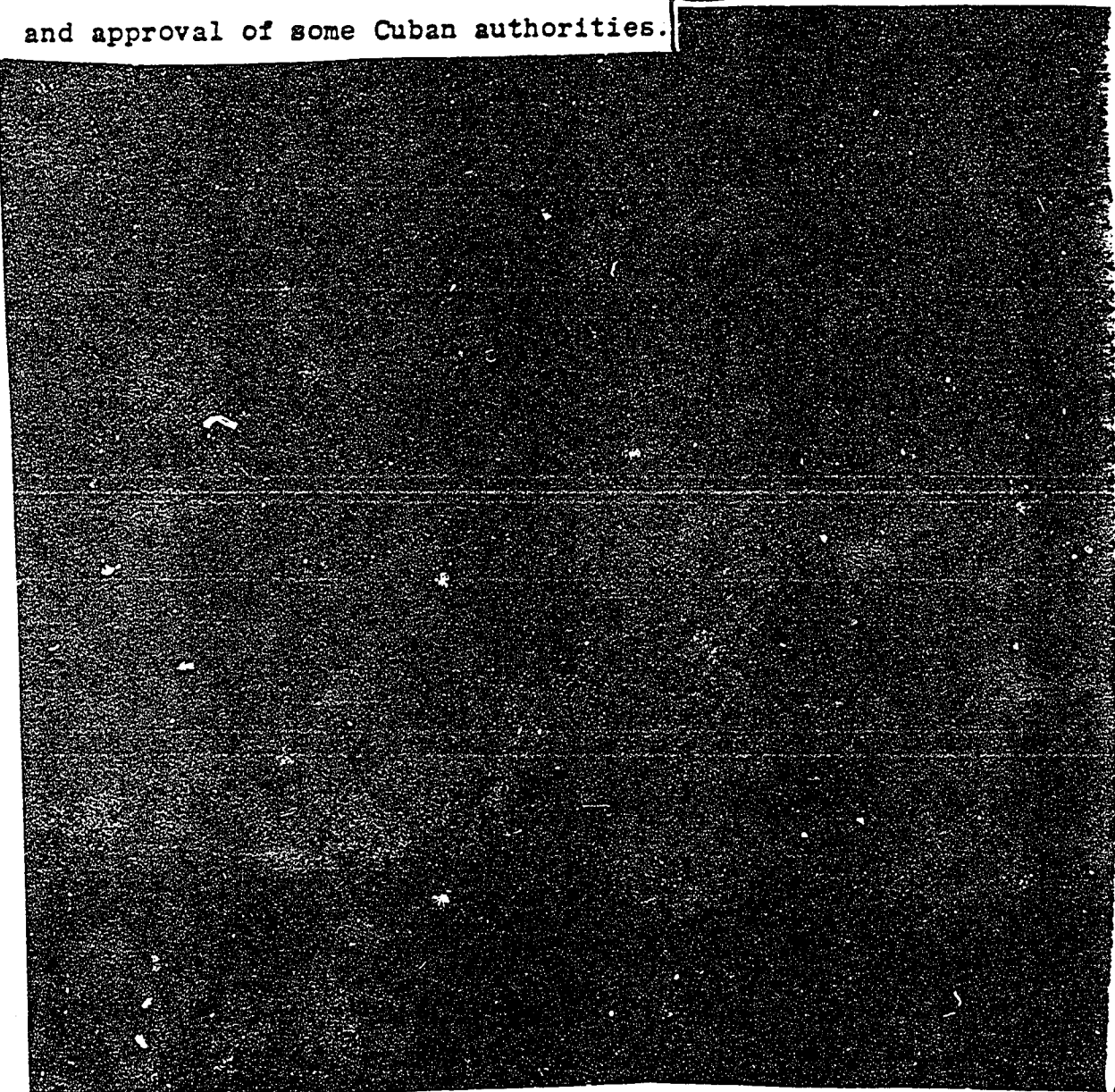
exiles, included a heavy sprinkling of Communists.

36. The abortive "invasions" of Panama in [REDACTED]

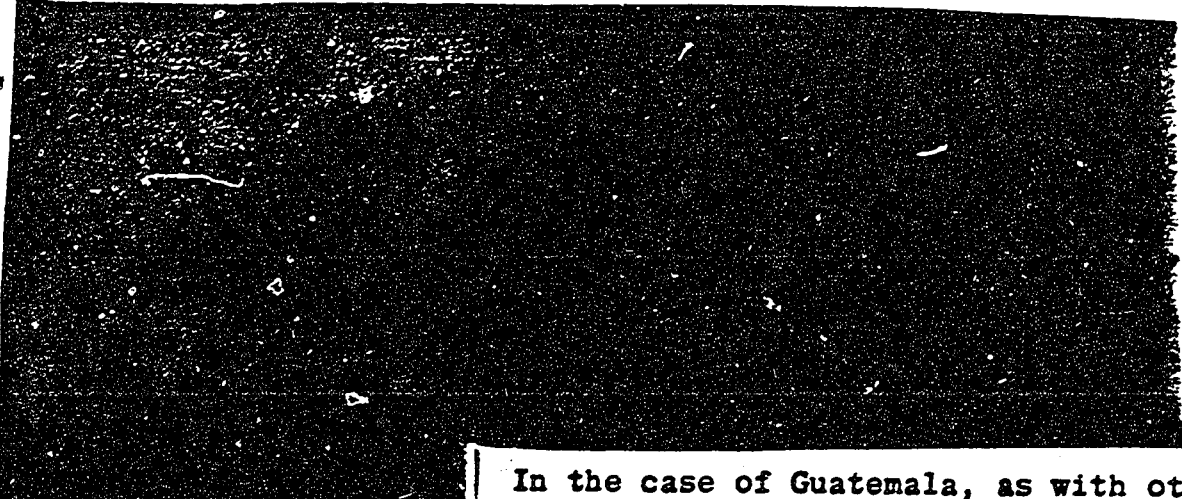
[REDACTED] were by small groups from

Cuba [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] in the Panamanian case, at least, the expedition's preparations and departure probably took place with the knowledge and approval of some Cuban authorities. [REDACTED]

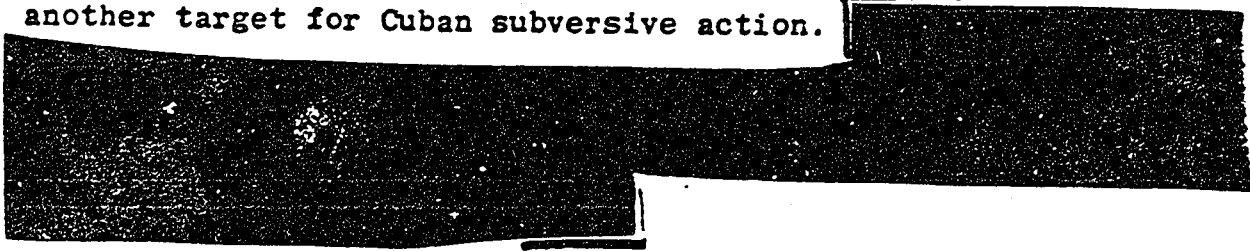


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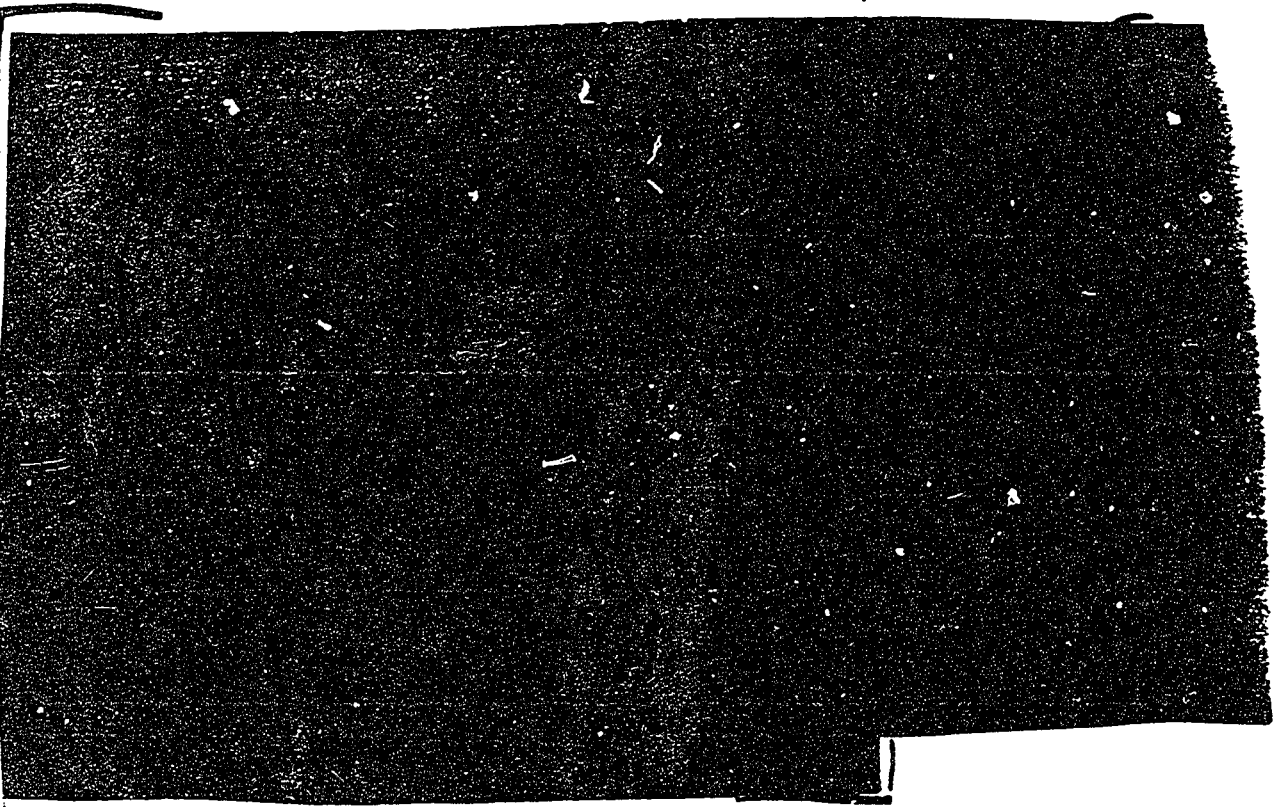
In the case of Guatemala, as with other Latin American' countries, the Cubans maintain that a genuine revolution can be achieved only after the regular armed forces are destroyed and the "masses" are armed, as in Cuba. In his frequent speeches in Cuba, Arbenz has repeatedly said that his greatest mistake was in not arming the people--an omission which permitted the "militarists," bought with "imperialist money," eventually to seize power and destroy the revolution.

38. The government of Venezuelan President Betancourt is another target for Cuban subversive action.



39. Castro agents, of both Cuban and foreign nationality, are traveling from Cuba to Latin American countries to promote revolutionary activities. Their objectives range from courier missions to organizing of student, labor, and revolutionary groups and the carrying out of sabotage missions.





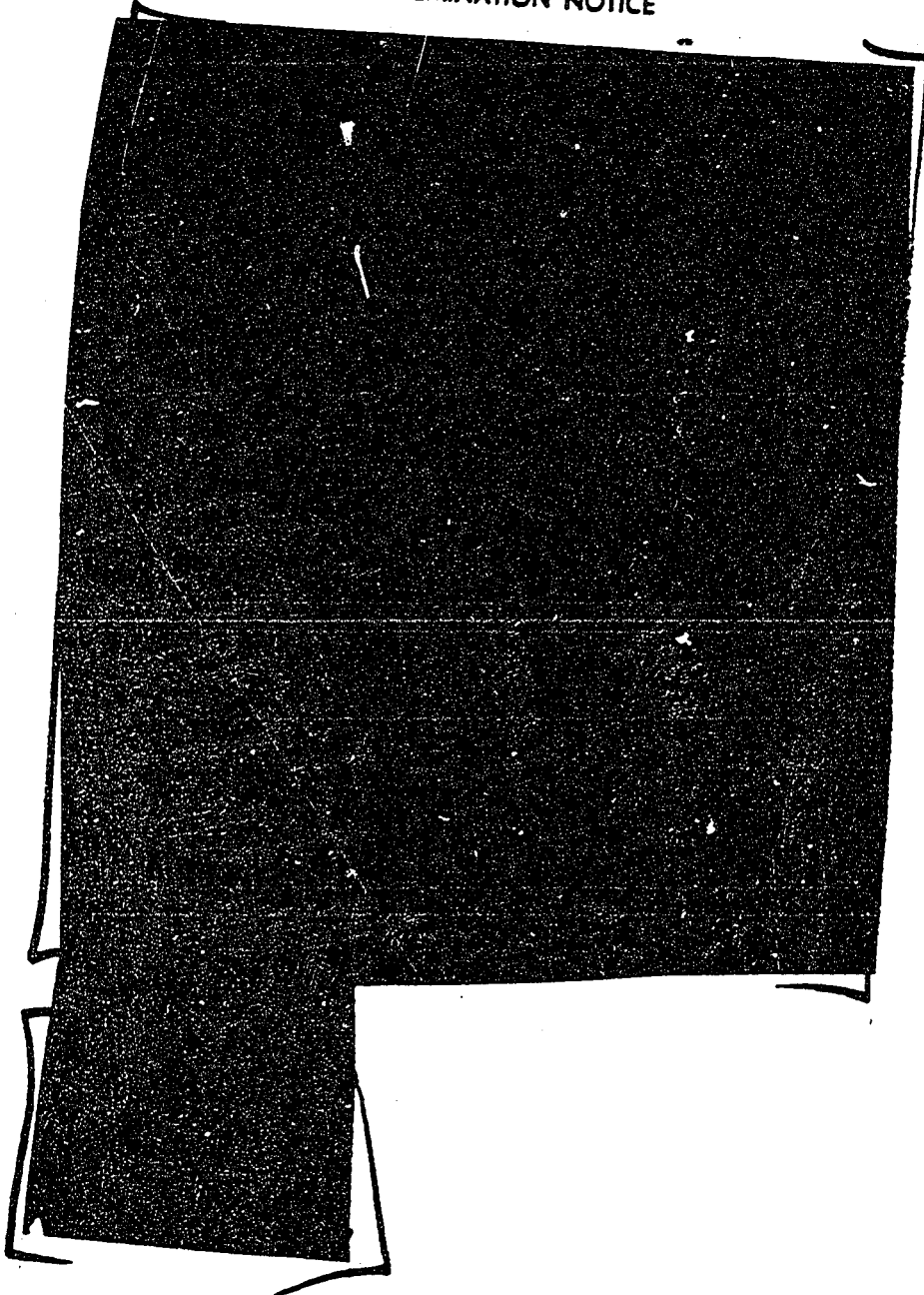
41. The Cuban revolutionary line is also spread throughout Latin America through the facilities of the Castro-subsidized international news agency Prensa Latina, which has close working ties with the news agencies of the Sino-Soviet Bloc. This propaganda organization which has offices established in many Latin American countries disseminates the propaganda line of Moscow and Peiping throughout Latin America. It frequently has distorted news stories so as to reflect unfavorably on the local government--a course which has evoked protests from the officials of several Latin American countries, including Mexico, Venezuela, and Costa Rica. A powerful new radio station was inaugurated in Cuba on 1 May to disseminate pro-Castro propaganda throughout the hemisphere.

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42. The activities of Castro agents throughout the hemisphere have frequently resulted in countermeasures being taken by security and diplomatic authorities in many Latin American countries. In a number of cases, blatant attempts to undermine the sovereign rights of other Latin American governments have resulted in the arrest of pro-Castro agents and the expulsion of Cuban diplomatic personnel.

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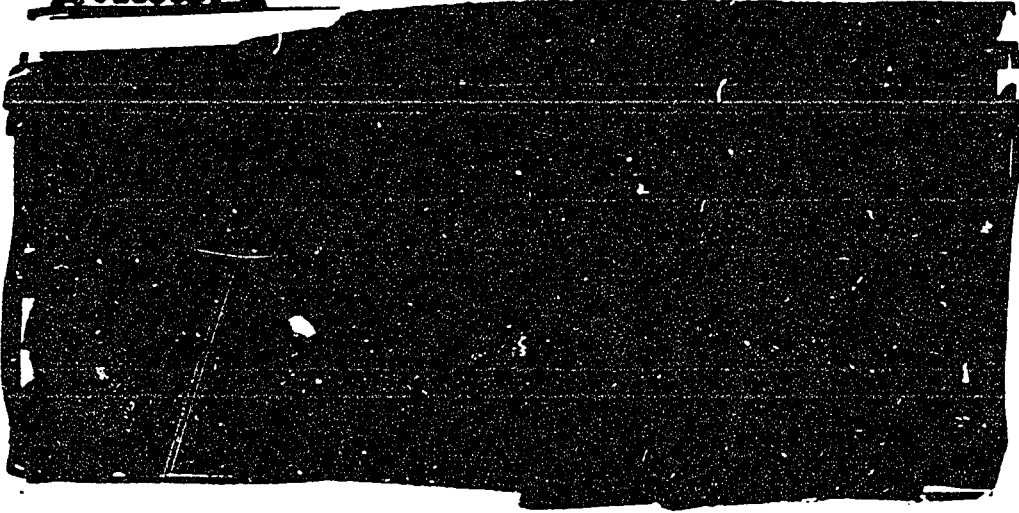

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CUBAN SUPPLY AND DEMAND OF CRUDE OIL
AND REFINED PETROLEUM PRODUCTS

1. Cuba's total supply of petroleum, crude and refined, for 1962 was a total of 93,000 barrels per day (bpd). This was supplied by the Soviet Bloc, principally the Soviet Union.

A. The above 93,000 (bpd) breaks down to a daily average of 77,000 (bpd) of crude which when refined by the three Cuban refineries (formerly Esso, Shell and Texaco) produced 70,000 bpd finished products, which at USSR crude conversion rates produces 28% gasoline, 27% gas oil and kerosene, and 45% fuel oil, or 19,600 bpd gasoline (about 88 octane), 18,900 bpd gas oil and kerosene, and 31,500 bpd fuel oil.

B. The remaining 16,000 bpd are of refined products.

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2. The consumption of petroleum products in Cuba, in 1962 (the last year of U.S. corporation records) was between 58,000 and 60,000 bpd. Why Cuba is now consuming 88,000 bpd of finished and refined petroleum products is a confusing question both to those working in Cuba petroleum consumption statistics and also to the U.S. petroleum industry.

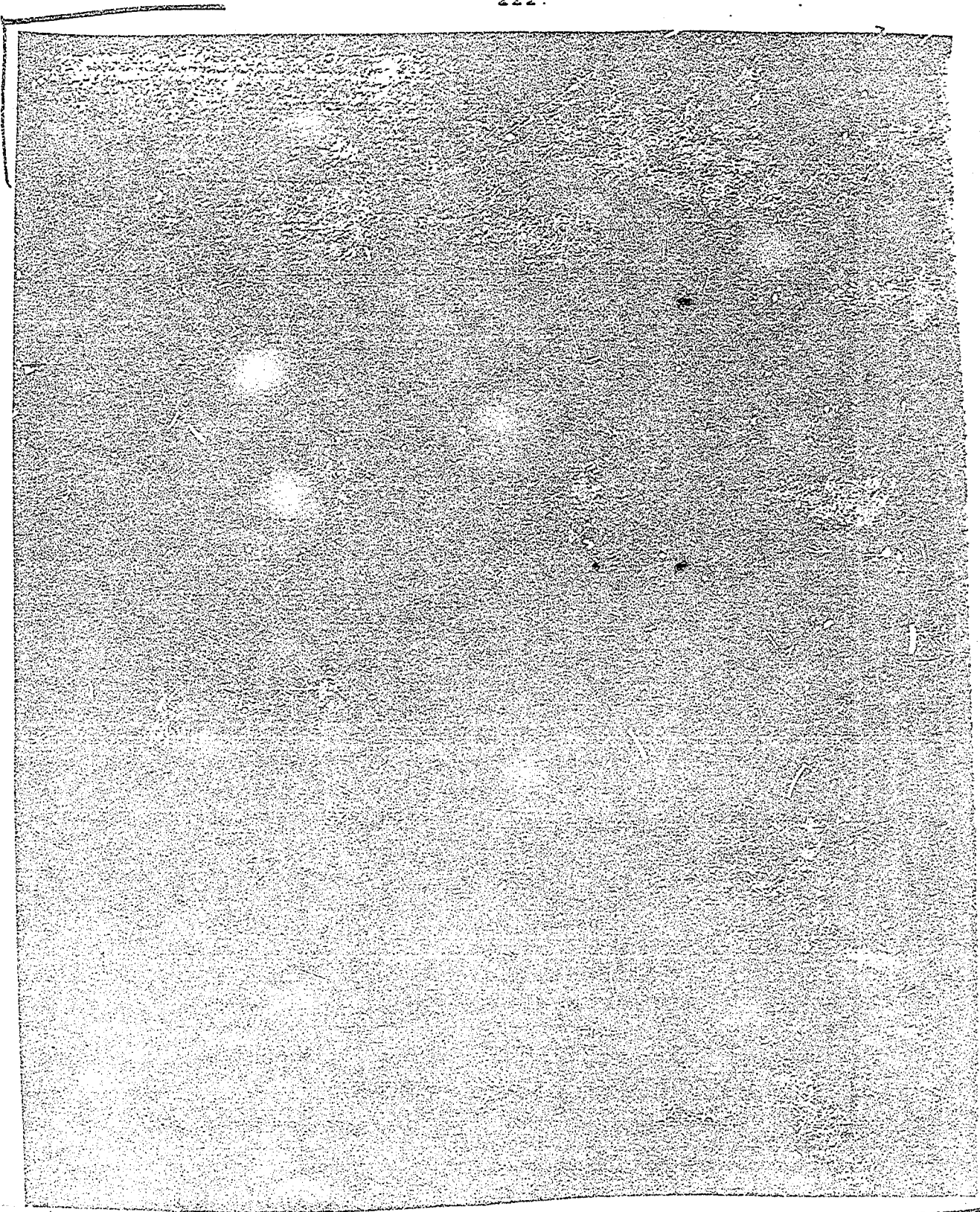
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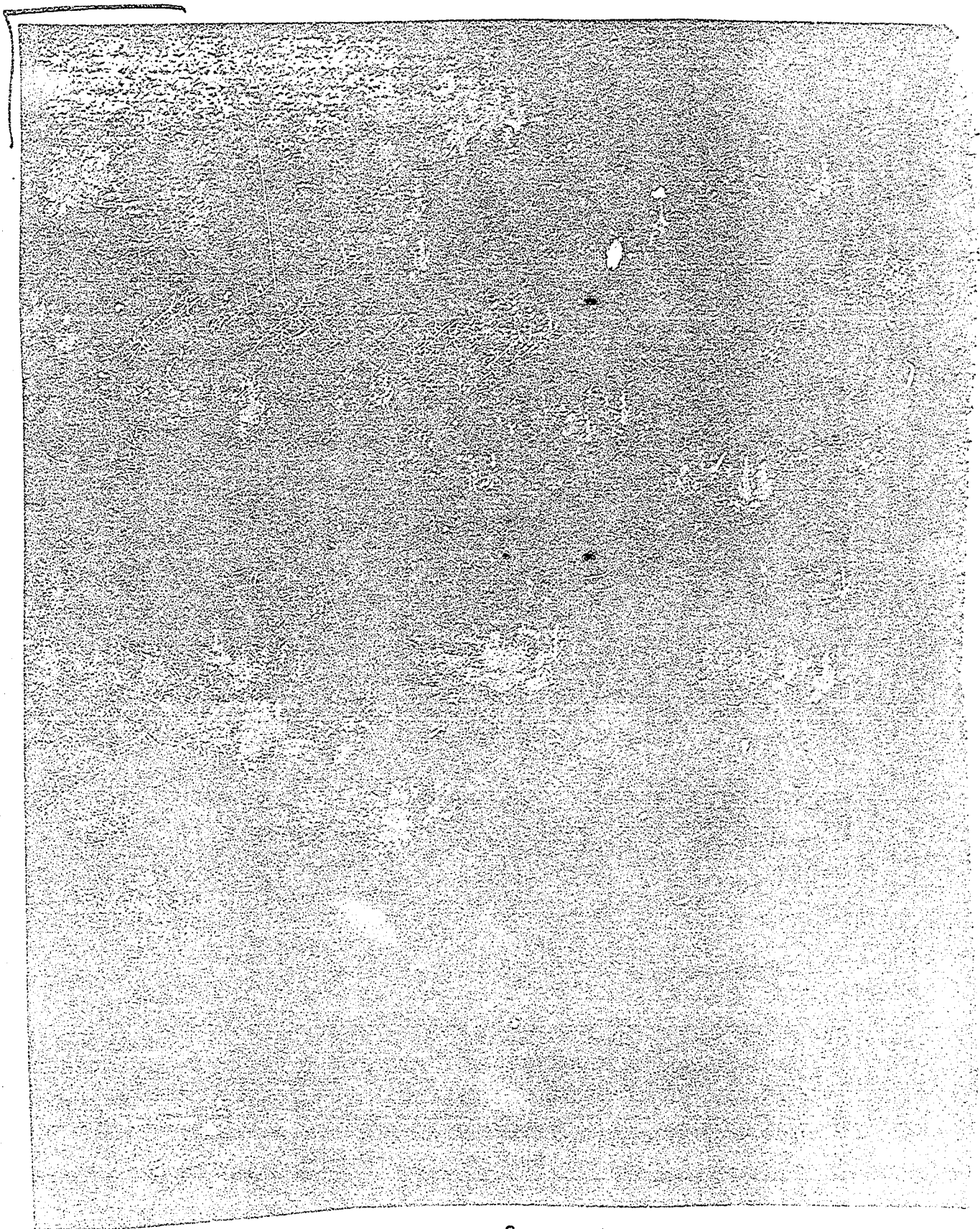
The largest expansion is three new crude storage tanks at the Texaco refinery in Santiago consisting of about 60,000 barrels each and four crude storage tanks at the Esso refinery in Havana of also about 60,000 barrels each.

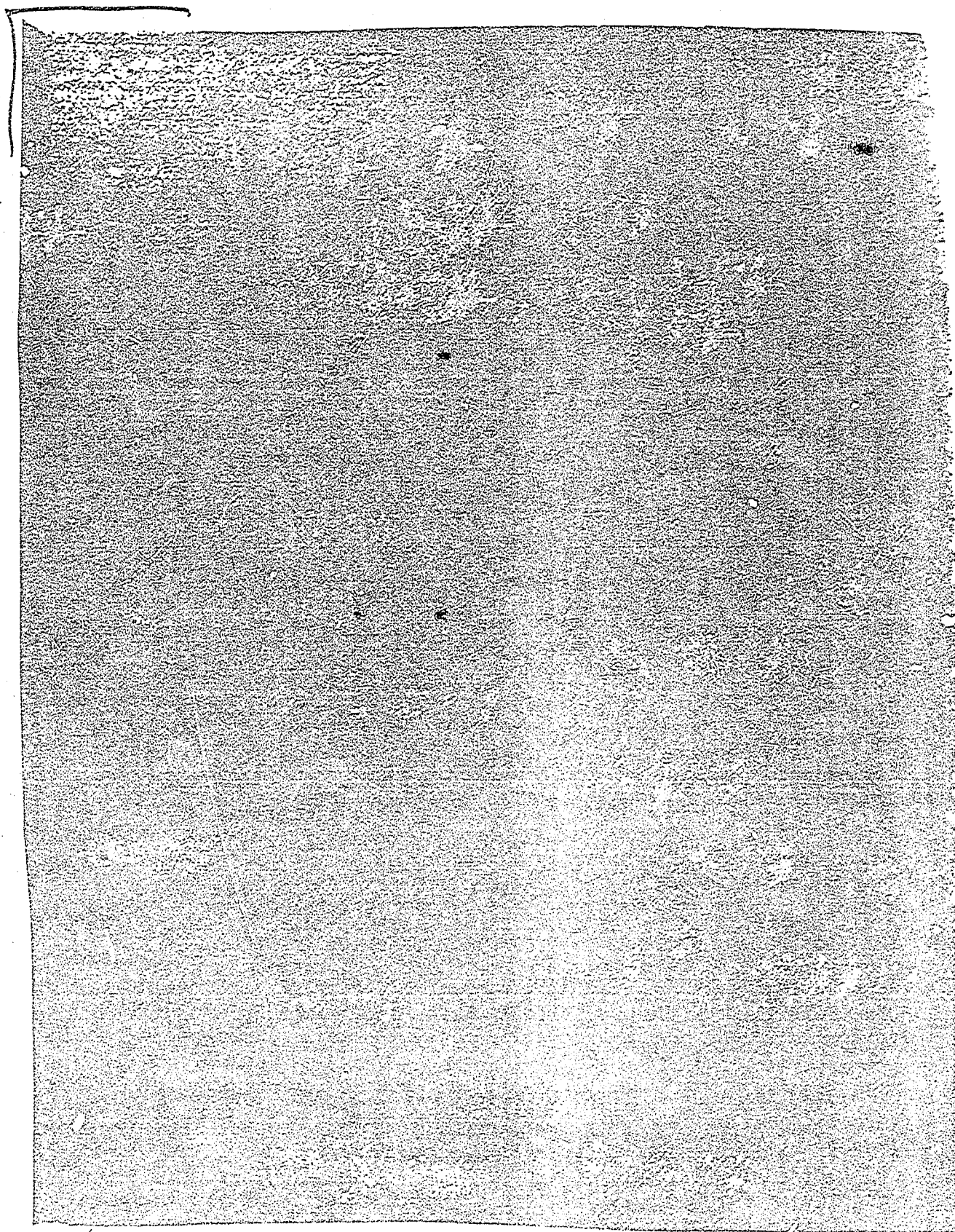
4. Present storage facilities in Cuba, using a consumption rate of 88,000 bpd, would store a sufficient quantity to supply: (a) gasoline for at least six months; (b) fuel oil for at least six months; and (c) gas oil and kerosene for at least 4 1/2 months.

5. The only petroleum products the Bloc probably cannot supply Cuba, without reducing their own needs, are Bright and additives for lubricating oil. These Cuba has been trying desperately to obtain from the West.

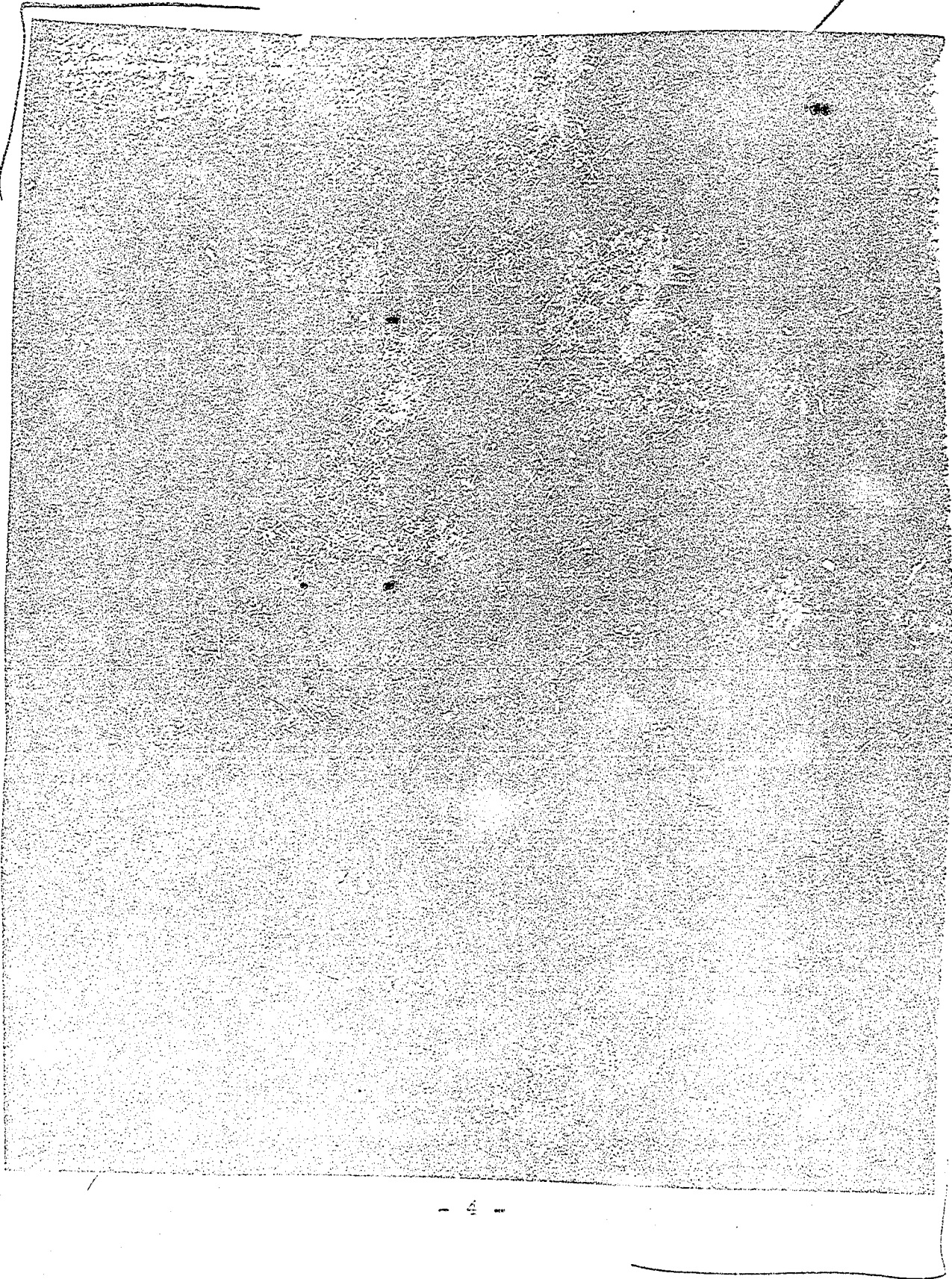
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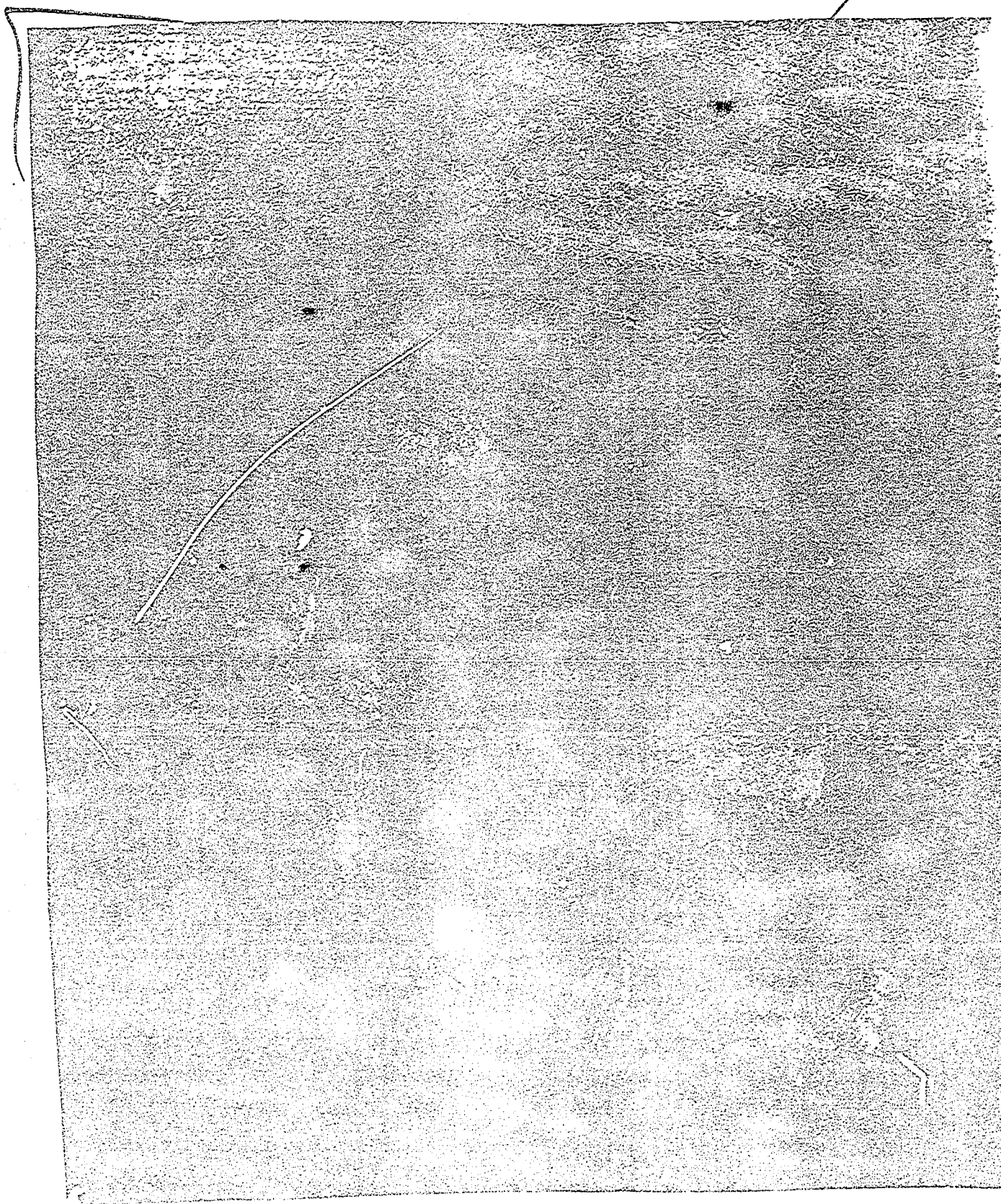
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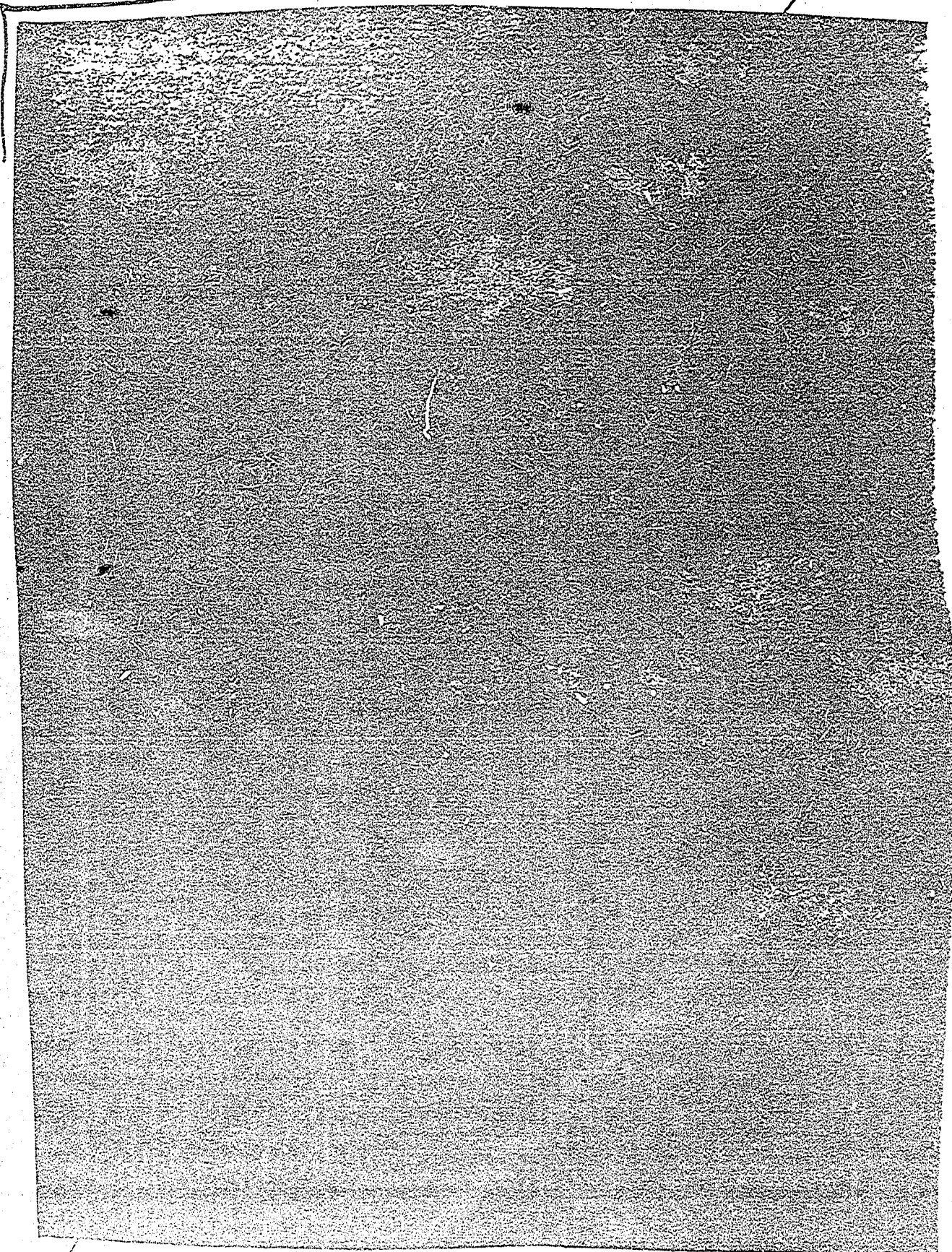


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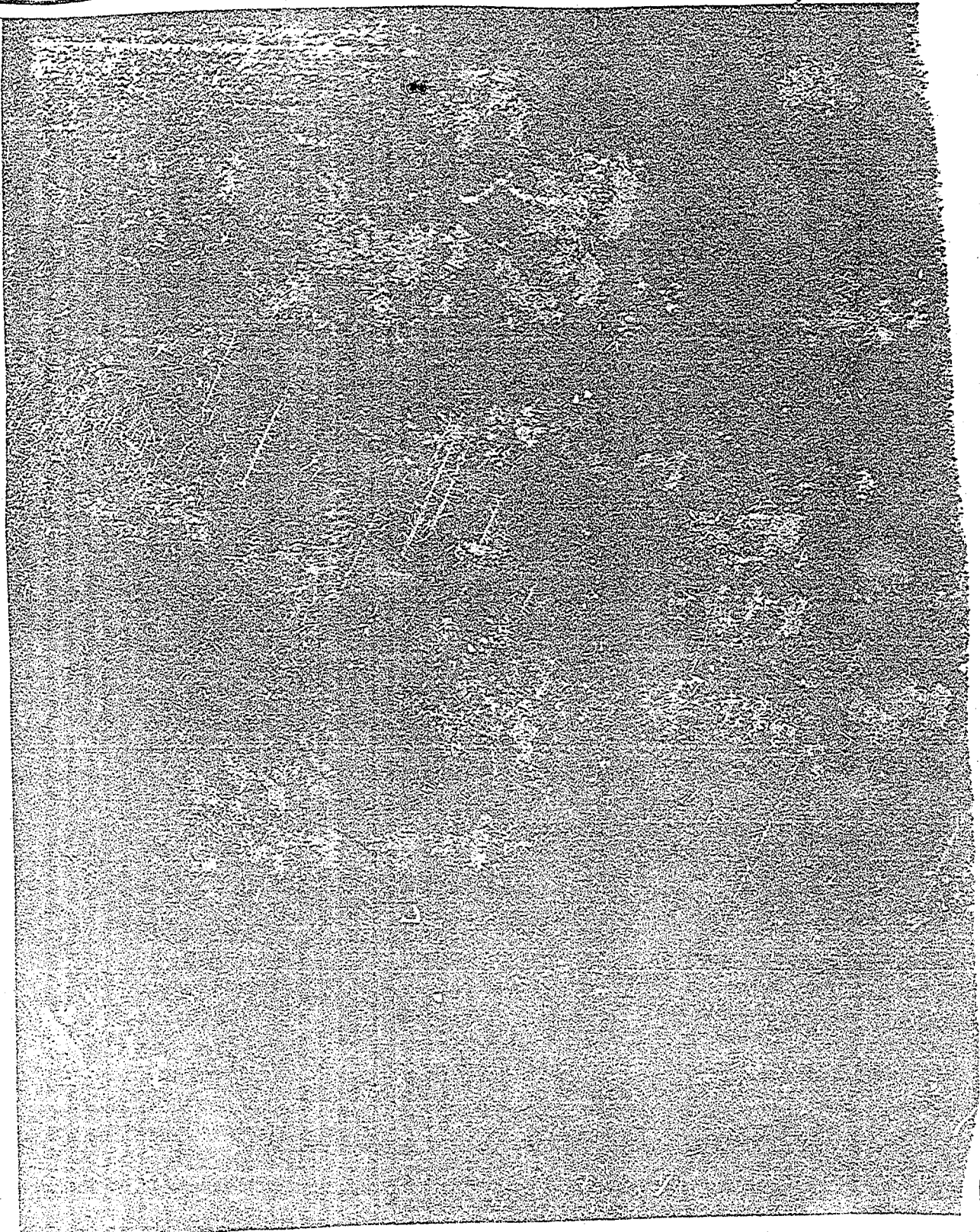
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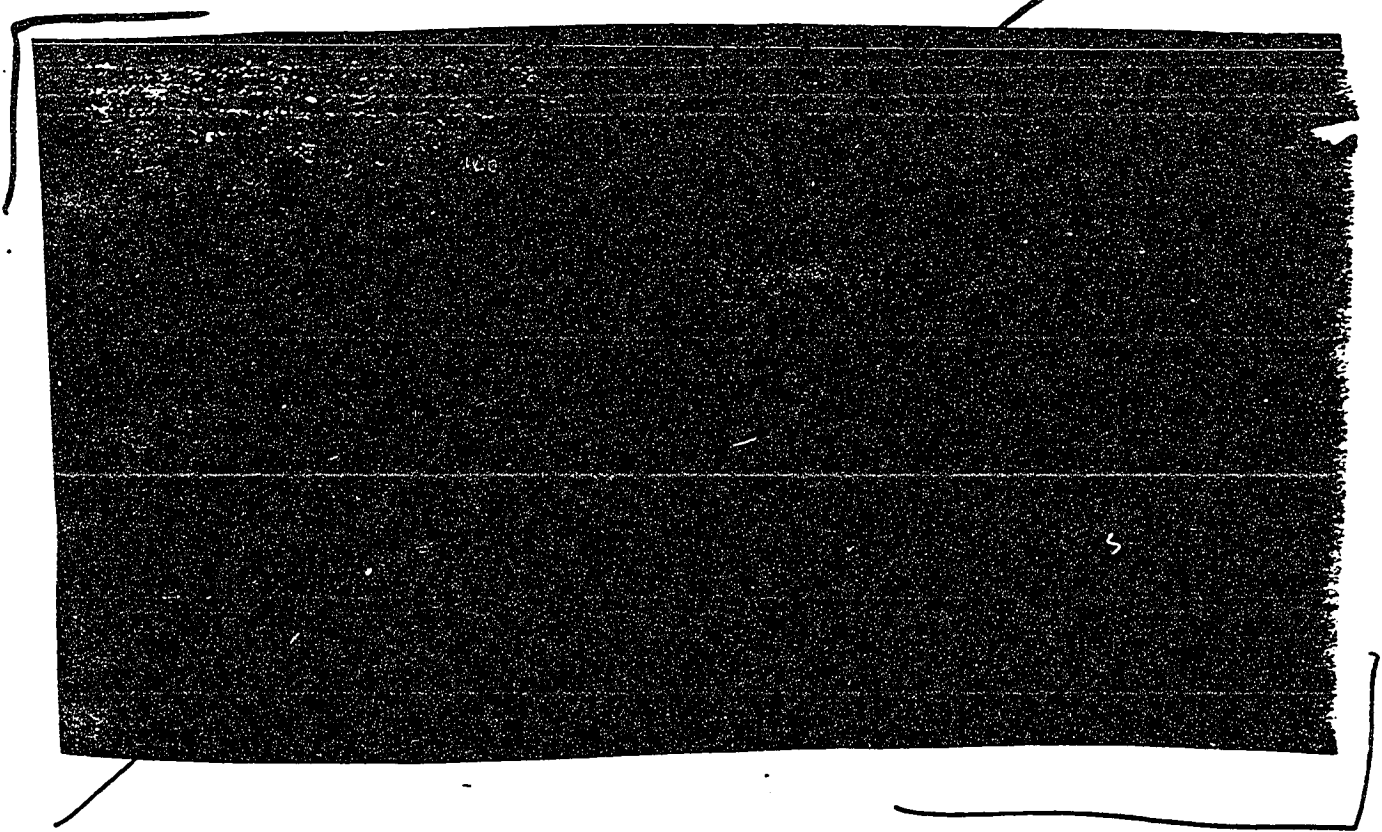
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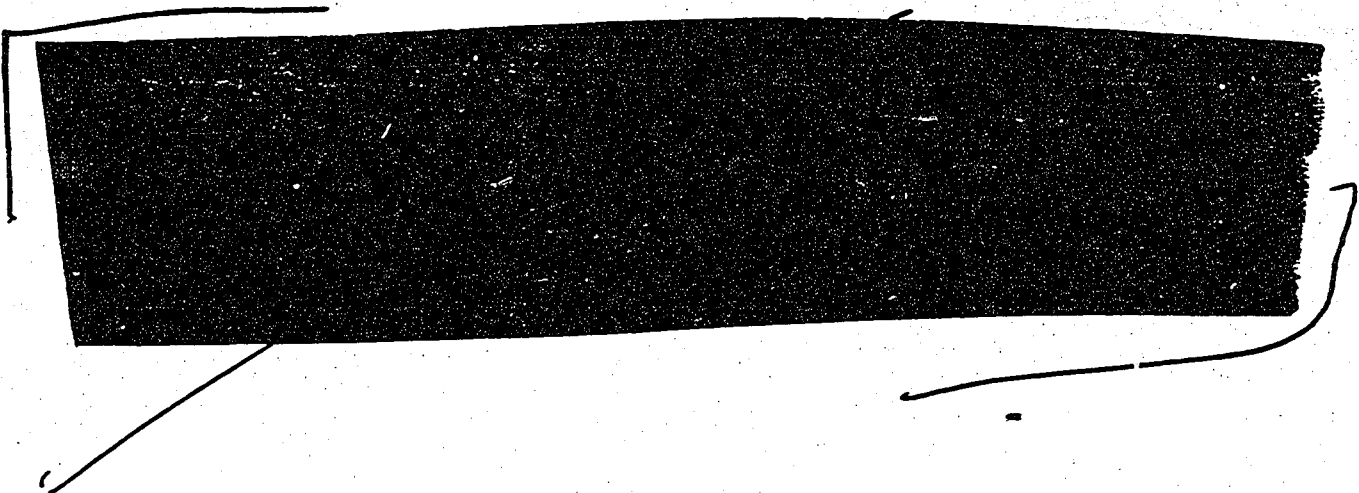
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ANNEX 4

Dates of Diplomatic Recognition of the Castro Regime by Selected Countries

United States -----	January 7, 1959
United Kingdom -----	January 7, 1959
France -----	January 7, 1959
Belgium -----	January 7, 1959
Canada -----	January 8, 1959
USSR -----	January 10, 1959
Czechoslovakia -----	May 17, 1960*
Poland -----	June 15, 1960*
North Korea -----	August 29, 1960*
Communist China -----	September 28, 1960*
Bulgaria -----	October 8, 1960*
Rumania -----	October 26, 1960*
North Vietnam -----	December 2, 1960*
Mongolia -----	December 7, 1960*
Albania -----	December 15, 1960*
Hungary -----	December 18, 1960*

*The dates given are those on which the respective Bloc countries announced their intention to establish diplomatic relations with Cuba.

ANNEX 5

Countries Which Have Suspended or Broken Diplomatic Relations with
the Castro Regime

Dominican Republic ----- relations broken June 26, 1959
Haiti ----- relations suspended August 29, 1959
Guatemala ----- relations broken April 29, 1960
Nicaragua ----- relations suspended June 1, 1960
Paraguay ----- relations suspended December 5, 1960
Peru ----- relations broken December 29, 1960
United States ----- relations broken January 3, 1961
El Salvador ----- relations broken March 1, 1961
Honduras ----- relations suspended April 24, 1961